

A N
A R G U M E N T,
P R O V I N G,

*That a small Number of Regulated Forces
Established during the Pleasure of Parliament,
cannot damage our Present Happy Establishment.*

AND THAT

it is highly necessary in our present Circumstances to have the Matter fully determined.

Being Considerations upon what has been objected against Standing Armies in General.

*Jupiter Omnipotens, precibus si flletteris ullis,
Aspice nos, hic tantum: & si pietate meremur,
Da deinde Auxilium pater, atque haec omnia firma.*

Vir. Aene. l. II.

L O N D O N:

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The Introduction.

Having for a Year, or upwards, expected some Ingenious Protector or other to have appeared in Publick, with Methods how to make the Militia useful; and nothing being as yet adjusted to purpose concerning so grand an Affair, I thought I owed the Country of my Nativity so much Justice, as to set the present Matter of Debate in as fair a light as I am capable.

In order therefore, to begin: I must assume upon me the liberty to say, That it looks as if all the Design of this Grand Affair was only to put down the Army, and to let the Militia do as well as they can.

That the Militia are not at this time in any measure useful, the Officers themselves will save me the trouble of proving. And since no Method as yet is prescribed to make them so, I hope the General Zeal of Mankind, for His present Majesty's safety, will excuse me; and let no Person think it improper to have the Matter more maturely considered.

That Circumstances of Time are much altered, is not to be deny'd. The pretence of the Stuarts reackes not to the Point: They had none of them a Competitor for the Throne, or a Potent King to oppose their Titles: Whereas with us the Case is quite altered; there is living in the Southern Parts a Prince, who was actually in the Throne, and is still bellowing out his thirsty Desires to return again to his People. And lest a pretence of Age shou'd start up as an Objection to his Endeavours, he has so managed Affairs, that he proclaims to the World he has a Lawful Son. That, as such, he is acknowledged in the Place where he resides, is more apparent than his Title; and his Picture is most artificially conveyed about this Kingdom, to form in some Bigots an Opinion that he will one day strive for a greater Spot of Land than that which contain'd his Double-Clout.

Are there then such Things in the W^{rld}? And are there such Men as really give Ear to his Future Title to these Kingdoms? And can we be so supinely negligent, as not to act in some proportion to avoid such an Impending Storm? And what way under Heaven is more likely to

The Introduction.

“ disappoint this Intended Project, than to have the present Parliament agree on a small Number of Regulated Forces, not so great as to be capable of putting us into Fear; but at the same time, enough to support the now Regnant Prince, and justify the Act of Succession? If this be not highly Reasonable, I am sorry it is my Opinion; I am sure I have a true Idea of our Misery, shou’d that Act be set aside. And since there has lately appeared a Book in Print, Intituled, A short History of Standing Armies in England, as much approved of by some, as condemned by others; I have endeavoured in this following Discourse, as near as I cou’d, to split a Hair, and to appear with that Temper and Moderation, as neither Party may have any just occasion to complain.

Truly this late Author has appeared so hot and virulent against Kingship it self, that, in my Opinion, he has injured the Cause: For, by the way, Reason spoke in Railing Language, disappoints the Purposes for which it was intended.

And because Occasion is taken in this Pamphlet to commend the last Years Author of an Argument against a Standing Army, I will so distinctly and methodically examine the same, that if I can possible, I will engage him to publish some more of his Oratory to the World, because what he has yet advanced will prove to be tarnished in the wearing. He writes, I confess, like a Gentleman of Stile and Character; his Propositions plausible, and his Fretences seem fair and popular; but his Plebeian Principles are too plain to be concealed. And therefore with him I begin.

For this seems to me the fairest way to set the matter in the truest light: For, as Solomon says, Iron sharpens Iron, so does the Countenance of a Man his Friend. Disputes strike out the Truth; and since some busy Heads wou’d not let the Matter sleep, but revive the last Year’s quarrel to prepossess the present August Assembly, who might perhaps have let it drop: I think also, that on the other hand there may be a pretence of Necessity; but leave the whole Matter to their Consideration.

A N

Argument, &c.

TH E Title page is enough to create in some persons a prejudice to the Matter herein to be debated ; but waving all disadvantages arising on that account, I shall venture to pursue my design. In which I shall observe the Decorum of Manners, as much as consists with the Subject I handle, and the Provocations given, under the Notion of a Friend to *Property*.

And in following my Discourse, I shall lay down these Two Propositions.

First, I will prove a Spirit of *Jacobitism* in the Method he has used.

And secondly demonstrate, That a small Number of *Regulated Forces* cannot damage our present Happy Constitution.

The First Proposition is so self-evident, that it carries Demonstration along with it ; for proof of which, we need repair no further than to the Joy the *Jacobites* express on the late Disbanding-Vote ; and they were only sorry to hear that Any part of the *Army* was to stand, so great a Regard was shown to so brave a *Monarch's* safety. 'Tis true, the Opinion of many well-affected Persons clos'd in to grace this Champion's Triumph ; I call not their Judgments into question ; for any thing writ in a popular manner, and a flourishing Stile, goes down glibly, like

gilded Pills made by a skilful Apothecary ; but afterwards the bitter Tast discovers the Fraud.

And just so it is with our unknown Author , he uses Artificial Circumlocutions, that you may not discern Jacob's Voice from Esau's Hands ; for after he has admired the Happiness of our Situation, and made us more formidable than other Nations think us, (but takes no notice of our Retreats and Disappointments:) he dashes all the prospect of our Glory in telling us a great Secret, (viz.) *That the King must pay a debt to Nature.*

There were but few, who in the midst of Prosperity, under the benign Influence of Heaven, in the *Reign* of our late Famous *Queen Elizabeth*, tormented themselves with what shou'd happen after her Death ! No ! They priz'd the Benefit of a just Administration at a greater rate, than to have such melancholy Fancies seize upon them ; and yet at the same time, more depended on a future *Succession* than does at present. And he who is so vers'd in Books, must have met with *Dolman* in his Turn ; who tells you that *Spain*, then in her Grandure, as well as other *Monarchs*, more potent than *Scotland*, put in for a Claim.

Shou'd I here attempt to muster up your Regiment of Fears, it wou'd be the most numerous of all the Regiments already Disbanded, or to be Disbanded ; but yet I will Curtail them as well as I can, because some persons assert there is weight in them ; and I leave the Reader to Judge of the Matter of Fact.

The first is the Fear you have that *the King must pay a debt to Nature.* Let any indifferent person construe the sense of these words as much in your Favour as possibly they can ; and I think they can make no other Conclusion from them, but that you mistrust the next Successor's Justice, or this Fear need not have been made the Collonel of your Regiment. To back this pretended Fear, a whole

File of Examples, foreign to the purpose, are brought in to show you a Scholar, and nothing else.

'Tis not proper in this place to show your Mistake in History, where in p. 12. you enumerate Countries to be free that are not so, and others to be in abandoned Slavery that are free ; for rather than you will lose an Occasion to adore a *Common-wealth*, *Poland* must come in for a free Country ; and this can be for no other reason, but because it is Elective ; for if the Constitution must be *Monarchy*, a popular Election is most after your own heart. Sure, Sir, you never regarded the Inconvenience of multiplying Votes for Elections to *Parliament* ; if you did, you might from thence compute how much more dangerous it is in a greater Community of People.

Next you fall on the Prerogatives of the Crown, and therein give an unmerciful Broadside : You think it dangerous to have the disposal of *Household Officers, Revenue, State, Law, Religion, or Navy*, to be in the King's Gift : I am ashamed to argue against the Unreasonableness of this Proposition. Had he power to seize on your Wife, and make you a Prisoner without a formal Process, it would be much harder : But alas, he cannot by Law appoint you a Steward to your Estate, or a Court-keeper on your Mannor ; and would you chuse your own Servants, and he want his ? Away, away, with such an Argument.

Your next Fear is as little to the purpose as any of the other ; you say, That the King with 20000 Men beforehand with us, or but half that number, the People can make no Efforts to defend their Liberties. I would not desire to be so unfortunate as to see a Bad Prince on the Throne ; yet if I should suppose (what is not likely to come to pass in my Life-time) that Arbitrary Power be intended, I am still of opinion it will not be worth any one's time to attempt it. Pray what got the late King by seizing of *Charters*, imprisoning of *Bishops*, prostituting the *Succession*,

and such like Noble Actions, but only to live to curse his wretched Statesmen that advised him, and to deplore his dismal Misfortune ; and the Result of evil Designs ended in a Revolt from Tyranny. Nor could the countenance of a powerful Prince ever restore him. No man does Mischief, but with a prospect of Success ; and to make 20000 men capable to conquer *England*, is a Reflection on our Bravery and Courage.

And besides, to accomplish it, these Three Things are absolutely necessary.

1. The King must be of an *Arbitrary Temper*, and Popular in his *Army*.

2. The *Officers* must be *Passive*, want *Property*, and have no regard to *Honour*.

3. With these *Qualifications* they must win the *Hearts* of the *Army* to *fight* ; or what the King and Officers attempt is to no purpose ; and this not being probable, it ought not in any wise to be proposed.

When the late King drew up his *Army* at *Salisbury*, what confidence had the *Officers* in them ? And what confidence had the King in the *Officers*, when many of them led the way to the Prince's Camp ? Or what Faith cou'd the *Officers* have put in the *common Soldiers*, had one not intended to revolt as well as the other ? And yet these very *Officers* are thought to be dangerous in the eyes of some *Politicians*.

And there arises also from these words (*If the King have 20000 men before-hand*) another Remark, which is, It must be meant our *present King*, because it is spoke in that Tense. 'Tis strange that you who writ to be Popular, should betray your fear of a *Prince* whom most of your Readers will admire : You had better have stuck to your mistrusting his *Successors* (as was hinted before) than to fix a Calumny where it will not abide : For what occasion have people to make *Efforts* under a Just Administration ?

But now instead of mending the matter, your *Hypocondriac* seizes you ; and the *Fit* seems to have a spice of the *Gout, Stone, and Gravel*, mingled with it ; for you cry out in your pain, Oh the wretched *Statesmen* ! they are in your way, or you want to be in their Place. Then in another Twitch you cry out, *Arm against the Power of the Court*. Perhaps you meant the Power of the *Courtiers*, or at least good manners might have thought so, because the *King* dates his Proclamations from thence, and I am so modest as to think you did not mean to foment Rebellion, and that the King was out of your head when you penn'd that Paragraph. The next is a sort of a Lame Officer in your Regiment of Fears ; he looks as rough-hewn as an *Oliverian Collonel*, and can never rise higher than a Drummer, and that Post I assign him, because he's a perfect *Almanzor* at huffing of Kings : He says, That if *Charles the First* had had 5000 men before-hand with us, we had lost our Liberties without striking a stroke. 'Tis a home Charge, and let those who serv'd that good but unfortunate King, take it as they please.

Then, Oh the *Army* will influence *Elections* ! Pray, Sir, what is it will please you : for you say the *Militia* is not useful, nor a *Standing Army* safe : Must we then trust all to Providence, and fall in a Ditch, and cry, *Lord help us*, and make no Efforts to get out ? 'Tis the likeliest way I can tell to restore the late *King James* ; for make us but so far *Quakers*, and the business is done. If the *Arm of Flesh* is not to be used, prevail with our Enemies to be quiet. When *Joshua* fought the Lord's Battels, he encamped and lost men, though he won the Day. When *Sampson*'s hands were bound, the *Philistines* soon came upon him, but when he broke his hold, they trembled ; and unless you can give *Mathematical Demonstration* that all Parties in the present *Confederacy* will keep up to the nicest Punctilio's, you will find a Regular Force to be absolutely necessary.

But

But alas, you roar out still in your pain ! now they will encompass the Parliament House. If the present Parliament were to meet on *Salisbury Plain*, and none but Sutlers to oppose them, then the army in disguise at *Knightsbridge* might fall upon them. But pray, Sir, let me know wherein wou'd be their Interest ? for if the Parliament Establish them, and provide Methods to pay them, whence can any danger proceed ? But of this much more shall be said when I Treat of the second Point.

Then the *Exchequer-Officers* and *Annuity-People* offend you ; they rely on *His Majesty's Virtue*, and not the *Justice of the Exchequer Officers*. Well pusht, Sir ; but what signifies *Virtue*, when it must not be led into *Temptation* ? because as you observe in the whole course of your Life, *Mankind is inclin'd to do as much mischief as lies in tbeir power*. God have mercy Cynick !

Many more of your Fears remain untold. The *Army* will vote *Parliaments factious and seditious Assemblies*. Then the *Exchequer* will be shut up ; which, as you say, is but disobliging a few *Tally-Jobbers*, and *Three Millions* thereby sav'd ; and all this, you add, *Tyrant Necessity* compels. *A Jacobite Mistress, a Pension, or such like Trifles* does the Feat.

I have for brevities sake only, drawn up the *Right Wing* of your Battalion of fears ; and the other is left, as a Parson does sometimes with a Text, till another occasion.

From hence I should have proceeded to the second Proposition ; but before I touch on it, I must crave leave to run your Book over again, to view the partiality of Opinion which shows it self.

To rout any pretence that can be offered for a Regulated Force, you positively assert, That we are *Insuperable at Sea* ; but pray, Sir, allow such Persons (as are from *Tarpawlin*s risen by *Merit* to be *Officers*) to be judges in this

this affair ; they sure can ken as far as you, and they will tell you, that a Wind may be in our teeth at the same time that it may afford an Enemy time to Land in our sight, and they perhaps may escape before the Wind turns ; but yet to serve your purpose as much as I can, because your Argument is weak, I will admit that the Wind may veer about, and make us capable of engaging them ; and will also be so fair as to allow you another Proposal, *viz.* *That we may beat them* ; but then if the Men they have landed increase by accession of disaffected Persons, who will be ready to join them, How will our *Militia*, which you own is not yet useful, ever be able to oppose them ? The *Army* you have voted down, and sure you cannot expect those Gentlemen to be so good-natur'd as to get into a Body on purpose to venture to be knock'd on the head, when they were turn'd off by a broad-side of your fears ; I should rather think that they have great Souls, and will covet Foreign Service, and seek by their Swords that glory abroad which was denied them here. War is now grown a Science, and *Rewards affixt to Merit*, and they will scorn to linger out a life of inglorious ease, who have heard peals of Cannon in an Enemies Country ; nor can all the precaution imaginable hinder any Subject of *England* from entring into the Service of a Prince in League with us ; and on a sudden a mistake in breach of Articles may be committed, and War follows. Then let us pray for the success of our *Fleet* for fear the *Militia* is not in order.

But how if our Prayers should not succeed, since we are told from every Pulpit that we are sinners ! how if a cross Wind should disappoint the *Seamen* of shewing their *courage* ? why then we must go to Loggerheads at home, and we shall soon have the satisfaction to see whether an *Army* or no *Army* is safest ; but, alas ! experience then will be bought at too dear a price ; then, I doubt, your Proposition.

tion which you advanced, *viz.* That the only way to Restore King James is to have a Standing Army to keep him out, will prove you a false Prophet; but what satisfaction will that be to the publick when they groan under such a misfortune? for such things have been in other Countries as well as our own, and according to your own rule, *what happened yesterday may again come to pass, for the same causes produce the same effects in all Ages.*

Nor need you have told us that our Rights and Privileges are equal to the King's Prerogative, unless you had a suspicion that they are like to be invaded; but 'tis popular to rub up Princes with such Stories, and often promotes you to a place where you may talk. A crafty way of arguing, still to render the Regnant Prince suspicious to his people; for if the best are to be mistrusted, the worst cannot be tolerated. *If virtue must not be led into temptation, because as you say, mankind will do as much mischief as lies in their power,* how can any Form of Government subsist? But you are for having the Army march off, and let the Militia take its fate. But who, Sir, wou'd be for Materials to form Tyranny, when you say, *they must give place to more expert Architects to finish the Building?* Faith, Sir, you are talking of a Structure, and I can see none of the foundation-work; I hope the Edifice is built on the sandy foundation of your fears. Truly you are much wondred at for having so mean an opinion of your own Countrymen, as to think that 20000 Men are capable to enslave us; 'tis such a reflection on the present Militia, that I wonder they can forbear reproving you for it.

But you fear that their Number will increase, and say, *the Militia can never be made useful whilst there is a Standing Army.* But for your instance of the discouragement the Militia Officers met with in the late Reigns, is no argument to think it will be so still, for both may be of most excellent use, and prove a curb to each other; of which I shall Treat a while hence. 'Tis

'Tis confess that *Armies* have done harm, and *Militia's* have been dangerous, but yet both under good Discipline may do us Service. I remember in the hot times of *Whig* and *Tory*, a domineering Lord Mayor by his appointment kept *Justice* from entring *Guild-Hall* with some Files of Musqueteers: And you instance in the *Duke of Monmouth's Rebellion*, That the Biafs of many lay the wrong way, but yet they prevented Deserters going in to the Enemy. But now comes in the *unhappy Old Man sinking under the load of Age and Misfortunes*. A much kinder Expression than you could afford the Father, who was the best of the two; for he with 5000 men before-hand with us, would not have let us struck a stroke for our *Liberties*, as you assert. But I suppose you are driving at the Terms of Accommodation, should the unhappy Old Man return.

'Tis strange you should affirm, That *continuing the Army will please the Conspirators*; alas, Sir, that must be a mistake, because they know their *Courage* and *Loyalty* too well.

Then the *Heroes* of this *Age* are much beholden to you for telling them that *they are of a course Allay, with too much Dross in their composition*: Which can be but Ill Nature at the best.

Much more I could say against what you advance by the way of banter; but I will hasten to my Second Proposition, *viz.* to prove, That a Small Number of Regulated Forces cannot damage our happy Constitution.

And this I shall begin with a Proposition of your own; *viz.* That *what you have offered against Armies in general, is not to extend to our own, which was raised by Consent*. If then the present Parliament shall think fit to establish a small Number, and see them duly paid, they will as certainly be in the Interest of the *Government*, as much as any Community of Persons whatsoever; for the old *English Proverb* is ready at hand, *Always be rul'd by him who bears*

bears the Purse. This is so plain, that the contrary cannot be attested without falsehood.

Nor is it possible they can (as you fear) ever vote Parliaments factious and seditious Assemblies, since from them the Fountain-head of that Spring arises, which supplies the present Exigencies of the Crown.

And to come more regularly to the matter in hand, let us examine what must go to the Composition of such an Army as you make us believe you dread.

I. By Natural Inclination the Soldiery must thirst after the Ruin of their own Country; in which you must compromise their Relations and Friends; which is incongruous in se.

Next the Officers must back them in this laudable Undertaking; and to make them such immoral men, you must suppose faster than Mr. Bays does in the Rehearsal; for a Prince must encourage such a sort of glorious Mischief that Catiline himself could never conspire; for they must neither have Property nor Reason: A very hard Censure, and too much sorenness of Ill Nature appears to have it ever thought probable.

For shame, Sir, let me not be put to the trouble of confuting such an Argument; for I am so charitable as to think an Idea of the late King James's Return run in your head, and that you dreamt over-night of a Rehearsal Revolution, when you penn'd those Passages of Fear.

For you dread their Number will increase. And who shall increase them? If the Parliament does, we ought in good manners to think them in the right, because they are always presumed to be a Body of Wise and Sagacious Persons. You may be of that Number, and he who writes so well, must needs have the advantage of Elocution, which will be always capable to turn the Scale: But if you think the King will do it of his own head, and shake off Parliamentary Power, I desire you to furnish me with

a reason

a reason why you think so, because I am wholly destitute of one at present. To lose the Gusto of a Good Reign, for fear a Bad Prince may hereafter arise, is the Hypochondriac with a vengeance ; and contrary to the Sentiments of the Ingenious Mr. John Oldham (my particular Friend), who says to this purpose,

*We have a good King, and he deserves laughter,
Who troubles himself with who shall come after.*

By what has been said, it appears that no Army will endeavour to abolish that Power which sees them duly paid ; so that your *Freedom* and *English Constitution* is safe ; and no danger of having the *Parliament* surrounded, unless it be to protect them in their *Freedom of Speech* ; for instance, have we not now better Judges than those that were *durante bene placito* men.

A Protecting Prince need not be debarr'd the *Prerogatives* of the *Crown*, since the Purse is the Right of the *Commons*, who are tenacious on occasion. The Male-administration of the late *Reign*, made that Bigotted Prince not think it convenient to trust them together, lest they should find fault : And therefore when he had finish'd his Bloody *Western Progress*, he never employed them, for fear they should make a Scrutiny into that Affair by intrenching on *Property* : But where *Merit* guides the Helm, *Liberty* and *Property* go hand in hand with *Prerogative*.

A King of England pretends not to *Abimeleck his Power*. Your *Wife* is your *Property* as well as your *Estate* ; and no Prince who endeavours to lessen his Peoples *Rights* ever sat safely on this *Throne*. His *Prerogatives* are as great as a good Prince can desire, and such an one will not do an ill thing upon *Property*, or engage us in unhappy quarrels among our selves.

You are right in your hint when you say, That the long and tedious War in which we have been engaged, is owing to the Power of France, not to our want of Courage. You need not have prescribed our Arming against the Court, for Parliaments are called to pry into such affairs. But I find you have the old way of wounding Princes through the sides of their Ministers of State. Thus Laud and Strafford fell, and then the Oak lost his Head.

Besides, Sir, the late Reigns are not an Instance for this, and if we search into the unfortunate Downfalls of Edward, Richard, and James the Second, who try'd too far, we shall find what they got by the Bargain. And when the first Charles was suspected by his Parliament, he ever after it grew less in the Esteem of his People.

Which makes me think that if he had had 5000 Men before hand, it had signified nothing at all. Nor wou'd the Heroick Army the late King had, ever have brought in Arbitrary Power, had not Popery been intended; the Magnanimous Conduct of such as quitted honourable Posts proves my Assertion ; and therefore you might have spar'd your indecent expressions.

And pray what kindness did Cromwel's 17000 Men do to his Cause ? they only serv'd to help the Martyr's Son to the Throne. And therefore whilst we are at unity among our selves we need dread nothing. And 'tis malicious in you to suppose the Parliament and Royal Authority two different Things.

But now you come to settle matters aright when you tell us the Army is to be kept up but till Europe is in better Circumstances, but you interlard this Sentence with a Fear it will prove otherwise ; and instance in the Case of the Prince of Wales. Why, Sir, this is no Jesting matter, Manhood may steal upon him, and he may cause Mischief tho' he can do but little good,

Why shou'd not the *Parliament* be Judges of the Number since their Establishment is owing to them? shou'd they prove dangerous, as you suppose, 'tis but withdrawing their Pay, and they must sink of course. But tho' you can afford your *Country-men* never a good word, this I will say for them, *English men have English Hearts, and British Honesty*; and unless you deny me that Point your fear may vanish.

And besides, Sir, 'tis unnatural to propose that 500 and odd Gentlemen chosen from all the parts of *Englund* can ever Conspire to Ruin themselves.

But alas, you say, it was an Army which *Charles 2d* left his Successor, made him capable to *bluster to his Parliament*; and pray what Service did they perform? 'Tis true, before his Intentions were laid open they took a Western Expedition in his Favour. But when he fell a Suspending and Imprisoning contrary to *Law*, he soon found that when he wanted their Assistance the second time, that he was disappointed; for they rid faster to close in with our Present *Glorious Deliverer*, than they did before to suppress a *Protestant Invader*. And the Case requires no *Oedipus* to unfold the Riddle. No Constitution cares to annihilate it self; and wise Persons are of opinion that such a *Complication of Causes* will always happen on the like occasion.

So that on the whole it appears that a Regulated *Army* can never (as you suppose) cause a violation of our *Laws*, or be built on our *Destruction*, tho' you think it as certain as that there is a *Kingdom in Heaven*. I find no Kingdom on Earth will please you, no not *Poland* it self, for your —— *Arma Tenenti* look to the Purse Bearers, the *Commons in Parliament*. An Honourable *Army* will never raise that by force, which a *Parliament* gives to their *Merit*. And a *French Mistress* will be of no force till another *Charles the Second* arise, so that the *Exchequer* is safe.

But

But pray Sir let me ask you one civil Question: Can 20000 Men, or less, over-run *England*? and cannot 300000 put you in a Capacity to think of our own defence? Unless you can prevail to have all the Store-houses in *Europe* ruin'd; to make our Swords plow the Ground; and present Death to use any sort of Military Term, you answer not the Point. I will suppose the *Princes* now in Confederacy will keep the League, and many years it may go forward; but there may arise a *King* hereafter (as there did of old in *Egypt*) who knows not *Joseph*; and since such things have been, according to your own Rule, *they may again come to pass.*

What you quote of Mr. *Johnson*, shows him an angry Man, (and he had Cause to be angry,) for there was a time I wou'd not have been in his Coat: He says there is no Epithet for *Tyranny*; but I had rather be under the Hatches of a *Protestant Prince* than a *Popish one*, since we have so lately seen the sad Effects of the latter. 'Tis much you did not admire him for wishing all the *Bishops of England Inn-keepers*, because their Sufferings were left out in their famous Address.

But to hasten: In the last Age we were Sovereigns of the *Sea*, without the pretence of a Rival; and if you think we are so now, you and I differ; and this is all owing to the *cursed policy of the late Reigns*: And then if we are not, surely a force in which we may confide is very convenient; make you the *Militia* so, and we are all friends. Aspiring *Spain* confess we cou'd then give Laws to the Floating *Element*: but the day is past; and besides, we want Union among our selves to make us Formidable.

Nor is it enough to assert we may prevent all by Intelligence. Report may spread about a Design for *Poland*, or a *Plantation*; and a speedy way for Transport-Ships is now found out. Besides, *Scotland* and *Ireland* have Enemies enough in their own Bowels, to prevent their doing

us any service. And moreover, *Foreigners* give this Character of *Englishmen*, That we are too credulous ; and so a Cheat may pass upon us.

You say there has been a *Misapplication* of our *Naval Force*, which you add, were not the Effects of *Chance or Ignorance*. Methinks now you prove the Necessity of some *standing Force* to prevent *Treachery*. No Hare ever doubled in her Files so dextrously, which makes it suspected that Men of different Kidneys clubb'd for your *Pamphlet*.

I have nothing to do with your hard words of *Ragamuffins* and *Henroost-Robbers*, which you bestow on our *Army*; but let *Bilbo* look to that, because they were not called such Names in *Flanders*.

But I cannot conclude without minding one thing, because you have scarce spoke any thing else to the purpose. You say a *well-train'd Militia* may be made useful : No doubt but it may, and the Methods you have laid down are incomparable good. You propose, *The Nobility, Gentry, and Free-holders of England*, to undertake that Affair. In answer to which, I will positively assert, That all I have conversed withal decline the Service : Nor does it touch their *Loyalty* ; 'tis an habitude to *Ease* : They love their *Country*, but *Education* has in a great Measure taken them off from the Vanity of admiring *wooden Legs* and *broken Pates*. Such *Theatrical Entertainments* will pass Muster, where others are the *Combatants*. So that they will neither seek to be *Officers* in a *Regulated Militia*, nor accept of the Post they care not for ; and surely a Man of *Property* may do as he pleases.

But you may Reply, there are enough that will. Yet, by the way, your main Point is lost, when you endeavour to make us believe, that all will aim at it. If any thing made them, it wou'd be that of having the *Honour* to see the King at the Head of them.

The number of the *Militia* you fix, and the *Exercises* you prescribe them, with the time of being out upon Duty, looks too unreasonable to require an Answer. I will only instance in a few particulars. You would have the same Man who is listed at first, not to depart till he is discharged by his Captain: and the Case of the Horse is as hard as the Man. Then you propose, that if we will not go our selves, nor can find a Tenant, or Servant, a Soldier that has been in the Army shal supply the place. Pray, Sir, will his bearing my Arms make him *Honester* in the *Militia* than he was in a *Standing Army*? You know he was then a *Ragamuffin*, and can Disbanding make my Arms safer in his *Custody*? I ask this Question, because you propose the Officers in your new modelled *Militia* to be appointed by the King. I hope in such a Case you will take care of their Pay, and make it in some proportion to ballance the Trouble.

But at last you come to the directing Part, and before you have Modelled your *Army of Militia* to be worth a Man's going out of a *Village* or *Country Town* to see them exercise, you propose Rewards and Honours to the most deserving; and perhaps that will be assign'd to him who has the Finest Cloaths; and tho you grudg the Charge of a necessary War, you are for a great deal of magnificence when you are in *Peace*; which looks like a kind of a whim.

But does not such a *militia* look like a *Standing Army*? for if the King appoints the Officers, and the common Soldiers are taken out of the *Army*, where is the difference? and if they are as dangerous, I am sure they are more chargeable. And if in their splendid Equipage they are necessitated to face the Enemy it will animate the *Invaders* Courage to have a prospect of Gain. For History informs us that when *Alexander* went to subdue the *Perians*, he took Advantage to tell his Soldiers that they fought for *Silver Head-*

Head-Pieces, which serv'd but to encourage the *Enemy*, so that your *Fine Clothes* are only fit for a *Theatre*.

As for your Project of having the *Third Part of your Estate go to the Militia*. I fancy you have but a very few on your side. I am not for the Charge of such a *Raree-Show*, but I find every Man thinks himself *Happy* in what he likes *Best*.

To assert as you do, That (*a small Army can be of no use to us, as being too few to defend us against an Invasion, and too many for the People to oppose,*) looks like a Contradiction, and a wire-drawing your Proposition, because it reflects on the *Courage and Bravery* of our *English Constitution* to think that a small Number can oppress them.

'Tis endless to Answer all that you have cram'd in for Arguments sake ; your *French Author* and Mr. *Harrington's Oceana* are Foreign to the Purpose ; and when my *Lord Bacon* treats of a *Standing Army*, he means such an one as will give *Laws*, and not receive them ; for those Armies had their Princes Pay, and not the Peoples.

Besides you own the *Artillery of the World* is much changed since those Men writ ; and by that Rule Circumstances may be chang'd too, for since *War* is a *Mystery*, the *Plowman* had better busie his Head in consulting of proper *Grain* for his Ground, and leave *Military Affairs* to wiser Heads.

But you now run up and down, and shuffle from Place to Place; you call it a *Mystery*, and straight tell us the *Dullest Noddle can comprehend it in a few Weeks*; 'tis allowed that the words of Command may be soon learned, yet *action* is a quite different thing. Tho you say it *may be acquired in the Closet as well as the Field*. And add, that *Actual Experience in War is not Essential to a Standing Army or Militia*.

Yet at last you do Justice, and acknowledg the present Army has been train'd up in a long War, and has gain'd great Know-

Knowledg, but yet they are an Army, and must down.

I must tell you once more, Queen Elizabeth's Case is not a Parallel, she had no Competitor for her Throne, when she trusted to her *Citizens*. For the Just Punishment of Mary of Scotland had Ruined the *Popish Interest* here; and Old Sixtus at Rome Bellowed out his *Anathema's* in vain.

But why should you tell us the *Jacobite Interest* is low? 'tis more than they will own over a Bottle. I hope they may never prove as *Wise* as they are *Hearty*, because I do not love *mischief*.

But alas, you will say, a *Prince* so well belov'd, needs not fear an *Invasion*. 'Tis not good to be too secure; the *fool* in the *Parable* teaches us that *Lesson*, and you your self say, That if France recovers Breath she may be dangerous, which turns the *Argument* against your self.

I must needs say you seem to smell rank of a *Commonwealth*, when you tell us we have not virtue enough for a *Commonwealth*, and that Oliver's *Army* was compounded of men of virtue, sobriety, and Publick spirit; and instance it as a Crime that our *Army* went over to the Prince of Orange. 'Tis what one may call Thrusting home, and no Man at Back-Gammon ever play'd with his Tables so open as the Blots which here you set; but I was not of that Number, and so am the less concerned.

But at the word *Army* your Blood chills, and a Bead-roll of Crimes are fixt on that Constitution. A Man cannot be *Honest*, and in an army he either commits *Quarrels*, *Murders*, or *Robberies*, or else they destroy the Game. Then they quarter in Publick houses; and where pray must your *Militia Quarter*? Sometimes you say, they take up private ones. If so, it was under the *Administration* of the unhappy *Old man*, as you call him, p. 15.

But, dear Sir, your melancholly encreases, or else why shou'd you propose that in a just Reign there shou'd be an artificial *Distribution of Quarters*, in order to awe Elections.

'Tis

'Tis a gross Affront on the present Authority, and fit to be Reprimanded ; it looks as if you thought we had chang'd for the worse. And as for the *Insolence of Officers* of which you complain, it will be remedied by making the Number less, and continuing only those that are *Civil*. So this way your Family may be safe from that *Numerous train of mischiefs* which you dread.

You say, *You wou'd not have the Army ruined by that Peace which their Courage and Fidelity has procured for their Country.* But you go no further then to a *Donative*, and when that is spent they may *Dig* if they please, unless they are not ashamed to *beg*. Perhaps they wou'd have taken the *Thanks of the House* as kindly, and then their *Donative* had been in Print.

To conclude, You grudge the spending 40 Millions of Money, and their *turning to grass a mighty Monarch for breaking the Laws*. You have no Regard to our present Circumstances, which turn highly to our advantage. And if I live to be old, I shall pride my self in telling a succeeding *Posterity*, That the *Heroick Arms of William the Third, my lawful King*, did by the Assistance of his *Commons in Parliament* procure from *France* an *Honourable Peace*, even at a time when discontented people among us Laugh'd at the Proposal.

And now having done with this famous Argumentator, (who last year obtained what the Tyrant *Caligula* did but wish for, for he trod on the Necks of his Enemies;) I will be so just to you, Sir, as to let you take your turn. Nor ought I in reason to beg your pardon, because your freedom with Kingship tolerates another to give you a cast of their Office. But lest your Censure of a Person unknown, should presently make you conclude that I belong to the Court, or (what is equally the same) that I was set at work by them ; I will for once do a work of Supererogation, and inform you that I have never

never been there, nor have I any Emoluments from the Crown, nor can I by merit propose any.

This Prejudice then being removed, - we will proceed to make some Observations on your Pamphlet ; but 'tis writ in such an inveterate Stile, that I cannot tell where, or in what manner to proceed.

But because I want to have done, I will read on at a venture. You have already been told, that you are false in the Historical part, and ought to justify your self as well as you can. You tell us of *Richard the Second* and his *Archers*; but what *Prince* being forewarned by the Modern Example of the late *King*, will venture his or *Richard's* Fate? By which 'tis plain that Tyranny repays the aggressing King, and makes it not worth his pains: But really, Sir, it is not fair to make our present *King* an Object of our Fear, who came over hither on so Brave and Generous a Design, without the prospect of gaining what was afterwards conferr'd upon his Merit. He, nor no other Person could divine the late *King* would act as he did in the last Scene of his Fate : But he verified an old Saying, *Quem Jupiter vult perdere prius dimentat*. I can easily excuse him for all he did, or ever intended, for opening this Blot in his Tables. When he returned from *Feversham* with the Huzza's of his People, he could observe thus much, as to say, *Well, I see they love my Person, though they hate my Religion*. But he (Good Man) soon forgot all ; and with a certain *King* in the Scripture, put off his Robes, and delayed not, but made haste to be gone.

But to go on : As for your Instance of *York* and *Lancaster* (which you borrow from the first Argumentator) you say, That as soon as they gain'd their Ends they disbanded their Forces: This Animadversion may be properly made, That their careless Security gave occasion to the Invading Prince to be troublesome.

Queen Elizabeth's Success, her Virtue, and Integrity, can never be sullied ; she was the Honour of her Sex, and her Country, but met not with such difficulties to humble France, as now there are. And though I cannot be of opinion with some of his Residents in Foreign Courts, who say, *He gave Peace to Europe* ; yet since by *Articles of Peace* he is become our Ally, we will say nothing of the matter.

The *Four Stuarts* are so unmercifully handled, that 'tis a shame to make use of your Quotations : I believe Mr. Collier (if he reads you) will think you as fulsome as the Plays he reprobates.

Historians who have writ of *James the first*, allow him to be a Religious Prince, and a Supporter of the Protestant Religion to the utmost of his power, though he could not retrieve the Palatinate.

Charles the first deserves not that hard usage from your hands ; and whilst an *Act of Parliament* recognizes the Day of his Martyrdom, you might have been more civil.

Charles the Second was a Man of Pleasure, but so much a Gentleman, that he never treated his Inferiors in so rude a manner.

With the late King you may be as free as you please, for I am none of his Champions : I will only say, That it is very mean to triumph over the Unfortunate.

I have read of a certain General (who I think was a Roman), he gaining of the Day over his Adversary, met with an opportunity to plunder his Tent, and some Papers in his Cabinet were found, which were probable of consequence; but generously disdaining to take so mean an Advantage, he committed them all to the flames, without the Curiosity of knowing the Contents. You never certainly read the Story, or you did not approve the Project ; else sure to Departed Princes you would have been more kind.

You next come to the business of our present Revolution; and here your Satyr for want of Matter flags at the setting forth: But yet you will have a fling, to show us, That though the Evil Spirit was dispossess'd for a time, yet he rose again on the Coast of *Ireland*; where you say, *Chance or Inadvertency* made things go on but oddly, till *His Majesty's* great Genius overcame it. Perhaps the rash Censure of you and some others, made the Gallant Duke Schomberg dye before his time. But you add, *This gave them occasion to raise more Forces, upon pretence of Invading France.* And was it really but a Pretence? I am apt to believe they did not think so in *France*; for the Damage we did some Sea-port Towns, evidences this Assertion almost to a demonstration.

But now you begin to fall out with the *Fleet*. If we lost Advantages more than we gained, 'tis more than the *Jacobites* will believe. And be you, Sir, as angry as you please, I really believe we had never met with such Honourable Conditions of Peace, if our *Army* which acquired such Reputation in *Flanders*, had not pusht it forward; and now those who kept the War out of our own Bowels, are with you the Grievance of the Nation.

The Authority which printed the List of 18000 Men in *King James's* Service was so authentick, that the Printer was never call'd to account for it, tho' the then Parliament made a Scrutiny into such Affairs, which amounts to a sort of belief that it might be true.

You next talk of a new *Plot* was then said to be discovered; as if the Government made *Plots* for their own advantage; and then cast a Joke on those who searched for *Conspirators*, saying, *That they found plenty of Fornication, but no Traytors.* 'Tis too jocose an expression, and seems to lessen that abominable Sin. Many more things you cram in to swell your Book, and make the Government full of mean designs. 'Tis ill manners, and likewise much untruth,

untruth to think in particular that the Irish were awed with the Menaces of losing their woollen Manufacture if they did not comply in keeping up the Army. 'Tis a piece of Arrogance and Impudence, and requires a good assurance to confirm. I find you are of the Number of those who take more care to disband than pay the Army, tho' the Vote run to Pay and Disband. You are not contented with the King's saying, that he wou'd comply with their Desires as soon as conveniently he cou'd. You know, Sir, the Funds given fell short in several Branches, which made the King not capable to pay them.

Had I time, I cou'd instance my self some Errors in the Histories you quote of Alexander, Cæsar, and others ; but that I suppose you design'd for a banter on the Credulous. As for your Apprehensions of Slavery under this King, it seems to have drawn you out of the way ; for you affirm that you will not trust any Man living. I hope, Sir, you keep no Shop.

Then you instance many Towns that are delivered up since the Peace ; recollect your selves, and see if there are none behind.

Now you come to borrow of the old Argumentator, and say, That the Militia cannot be made useful till the Army is disbanded ; but lay down no Rules to make it so afterwards. And besides, you satisfy no body that we cannot be Invaded, when the Army is Disbanded ; but indeed I ought not to ask for what cannot be performed. To have a Beggar ask Twenty pound, is what we cannot spare, no more than you can a Reason to this Question.

You tell us we have now a New Parliament, uncorrupted by the Intrigues of the Courtiers. Those who were of the last, and are of this, are much beholden to you for this Character. You next seem to infer, That you think our Nation not as good Soldiers as the Dutch or the Germans, for you lay down a new Project to manage a War without our being concerned

concerned, if the King of Spain dies ; or at least thus much it will bear, that you care not if France carry the Day.

As for your final Device, you know it is took for a Banter : Nor does your project of Cales or the Mediterranean serve much to the purpose ; for you admit that it may be necessary to send Forces to Spain, but wou'd have them be raised when they are wanted ; as if those whom you now Disband, wou'd List themselves on purpose for the Honour of gaining broken Pates, and wooden Legs. I agree with you that the King of France has Disbanded many, yet his Numbers are still formidable.

And now, to crown the design of your Book, you seem to tell us what the People will not do, before you know what their Representatives intend, on whom they devolved their Power. I shall conclude with you, That we have a wise and a virtuous Prince ; and why shou'd not all this banish your Fears ?

POSTSCRIPT.

LET not the Author of the Militia Reform'd think from hence, that he is shot-free ; for tho' he is not spo' of, there is a certain person well known to the Writer of this Tract, who has Composed a Dialogue betwixt Brutus and Cassius by way of Answer ; but waiting for his History of Tyranny in Latin and English, with which he has promised to oblige the Publick, and it being not yet seen, the matter is for the present deferred.

F I N I S.